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EDITORIAL

Occasionally, the force of circumstances makes it impossible for the best laid plans to be carried out. We had intended to make February our general number this season but V-J Day and the atom bomb disrupted our plans.

The major portion of the material we were preparing for the number on Freedom of the Press was being done by those who had worked through the war era with news control. They were pressed for time at the very point their materials were to have been written. We still believe that this is a worthy number, however, and are planning to present it in December instead.

There is perhaps no more important problem related to winning the peace than this fundamental factor, for the development of sound public opinion must depend upon access to information.

Dean Payne's column this month and the one to follow raise some important questions about how serious we are in facing our obligations in the postwar era. For, if we are to achieve a lasting peace, our own citizenry must not be thwarted in the achievement of personality potential by ignorance. The rise in tuition costs in education and the limitation of enrollment of minorities through use of quota systems make it impossible for increasingly larger segments of our population to take advantage of whatever gifts of ability they are endowed with.

Furthermore, a serious reconsideration of the relationship between the emphasis given to various aspects of professional training needs to be re-examined by our institutions of higher learning and by our lawmakers who pass the grants making education possible. It is doubtful if we have enough professional people in most of the professional schools to meet the postwar demand in any of the categories of professional life, but the disproportionate emphasis is quite clear and has been for a long time.

Schools of education are still stepchildren to the rest of the university system in far too many graduate institutions and, not infrequently, the schools of education, along with schools of business and other such institutions, carry the major responsibility of finance of the total program. No one would deny that it is important to spend $2,000,000,000 to develop the atomic bomb but educators of all people must realize that the cultural lag created by such forward developments in science makes it all the more important that an intelligent citizenry know how to handle these instruments which possess such a great potentiality for good or bad.

We have taken a terrific beating in the war because of the drain of manpower and womanpower from our ranks. If education is to help lead a social process, the hour is very late at which we must recuperate our losses.

DAN W. DODSON

THE HEALTH OF THE NEGRO IN NEW YORK CITY

Dan W. Dodson

In discussing the impact of segregation and discrimination on the health of Negroes, the first problem must be to determine the extent of differences in health between Negroes and whites and, second, that of raveling out the causes. Sociologists rarely attempt to trace social problems to any one single cause but speak rather of causal factors—for usually a given social problem is intermeshed with others which cannot be isolated from it. Health problems are no exception. I shall then discuss, first, the extent of the problem; second, the causes; and third, the remedies.

Extent of Problem

Health data of New York City reveal tellingly the difference between health in the Negro community and the white community. This section of this paper will attempt to compare some of the more outstanding of these differences.

Infant Mortality. We shall begin with infant mortality. Infant mortality is one of the best indices of social disorganization. For it is one type of social problem we have been able to control; the presence of a high rate of infant mortality thus represents absence of social control rather than absence of medical knowledge.

In 1900, one hundred thirty-five out of every one thousand children born died before their first birthday in New York City. Modern control of contagious disease, prenatal care, and modern medical knowledge have combined to reduce dramatically this rate until, in 1942 in New York City for the white population, there were only twenty-seven such deaths per one thousand live births.

For the colored population of the city as a whole, this figure is fifty. In other words, if the infant mortality rate for the Negroes were equalized to that of the whites, a classroom of thirty-three children could be saved from death each year, out of every one thousand

born. Three hundred and thirteen children, or ten classrooms of 31.3 children per year, could thus be saved in the Negro population of the city as a whole.

Nor is this the whole story. If select health areas are taken, this rate runs as high as 85 per one thousand live births over the years 1936 to 1940 in health area No. 13. As the war has progressed and economic conditions have improved, this extreme rate has fallen, but if pregnancy wastages are added to this child loss, there has been a rise in the total number of pregnancies which terminate in the death of the foetus before its first birthday. This figure would include fetal, neonatal, and postneonatal deaths.

In 1939, 14.5 per cent of pregnancies known to health authorities terminated in the death of the foetus before its first birthday in the Central Harlem health area. In 1942 this had reached 16 per cent. For the city as a whole, the per cent remained about constant at 9.7. In other words, if medical care could do for Central Harlem what it does for the city as a whole, forty-eight more children out of every one thousand pregnancies would be preserved in Harlem.

Tuberculosis. The second pattern is that of tuberculosis. This is another of those diseases medical knowledge has so drastically curtailed. It has been called a disease of poverty and many sociologists have used it as an index of poverty because of its close relationship to it.

The New York Tuberculosis and Health Association reports for New York City a death rate from this disease of 53.3 per 100,000 population per year in the average year between 1936 and 1940. In Central Harlem, however, the rate is 234.3 per 100,000 population. This means that 181 persons more per 100,000 population die per year in Harlem than in the city as a whole from this disease. For the Negroes of the city as a whole, this means for any one year that more than 800 more Negroes die than would be necessary if these rates are the same for Negroes of the city as a whole as they are for Harlem.

Pneumonia. When death rates for pneumonia are standardized for age, the Central Harlem area again leads the city in death rates.

In the interim 1936–1940, 68.4 persons per 100,000 died per year of pneumonia. For Central Harlem, this figure was 122.4, or a difference of 54 per 100,000. This means that if the rate could be reduced to that of the city, and if the same rate prevails for the Negroes in the remainder of the city, 243 lives would be saved per year among Negroes in New York City.

Heart Disease. Heart disease is one of those illnesses which we have not learned to control. Essentially, it represents the wear and tear of civilization. Yet, when mortality rates from heart diseases are standardized for age, Central Harlem again ranks next to the highest in the city. Each year 398.9 persons per 100,000 population die as contrasted to 336.9 per year for the city as a whole—a difference of 62 per 100,000 population.

Total Mortality. The total of the differences in death rates for Central Harlem as contrasted to the remainder of the city is 15.8 per 1,000 for Harlem as contrasted to 10.2 for the city as a whole. This means—if the same rates would apply for Negroes in the remainder of the city—5.6 deaths more per 1,000 Negroes than for the total of the city. This would be higher if whites were compared to Negroes rather than Central Harlem being compared with the city as a whole. Of the 458,000 Negroes then, this means annually 2564.8 more deaths than would be necessary if the rates were equalized. If the difference in fetal deaths were also added, it would go much higher.

Causes

Why are these differences so great?

There are, no doubt, three major causes. The first of these grows out of mobility from rural to urban life. At least there is a theory that those who are accustomed to living in urban communities build up an immunity to certain types of infections, whereas people from rural sections do not meet up with such infections and, when they go to the city and meet them, they tend to fall victim to them. No doubt there is some merit to this point of view.

The second cause relates to the changes of habits required when people move from one culture to another. This part of the problem requires the education of people in how to handle themselves in the city. Migrations from rural to urban life usually produce such problems of disorganization. It has been called the "shock effect" of mobility from rural to urban living. In 1910, for instance, Louis Dublin showed that the length of life of the average Irish person was 38.69 years while that of the average Jewish person was 53.44 years, which was even a longer life span than that of native whites. The Jews were supposedly lower in the income brackets than were the Irish, and certainly lower than the natives, but the Jews had been urbanites over a long period of time, whereas the Irish had migrated from rural to urban life and the great "White Plague" of tuberculosis swept them off wholesale. There is no doubt but that a large part of the problem of health among Negroes is to be found in this pattern.

The studies of nutrition during the war illustrate some part of this problem. For instance, the people working in the aircraft plants at Burbank, California, were found to be woefully deficient in their diets. Less than 36 per cent had eaten a satisfactory amount of fruit to get their ascorbic acid, although they were in the heart of the citrus industry. Thirty-seven per cent had less than one glass of milk per day, and 63 per cent had less than two glasses. Of the total of 1,103 diet records, only four men reported diets similar to those recommended by nutritionists, and nineteen others were rated "satisfactory." Thus, only 2 per cent had diets which were close to the recommended dietary patterns. Such things happen when people are lifted out of a rural habitat and placed in urban patterns.

Our studies[1] in Harlem have shown that 45 per cent of the stores in an area in which we took prices would not be recommended as places to shop by experienced home economists because of sanitary conditions. They found that the unsanitary stores were as crowded

[1] Mayor's Committee on Unity.

as were the others. They found that some of the largest items of consumption were beer and a cola beverage. Thus, consumer education becomes a part of health work.

In this relationship, also, it is necessary to take into account the stereotypes the people hold which have to be eradicated before adequate health can be achieved. Dr. James Weldon Johnson relates a stereotype concerning venereal disease which he picked up in the South. It was one I heard often as a boy; namely, that to get rid of a venereal disease one should have sex relations with a virgin. I do not doubt but that such a belief has been a factor in control of this disease. There are still apothecary shops in New York City where Puerto Ricans can purchase leeches to suck blood for they believe it good for the health.

Another spectacular area is self-medication. America still spends roughly one billion dollars per year for patent medicines, because we came out of a background of folk culture where grandmother diagnosed our ills and prescribed catnip tea, or clay poultices, etc. Today, Carter's Little Liver Pills does the diagnosis, or Drew Pearson's sponsors teach us that Serutan spelled backwards is Nature's own method.

Health care can never be adequately achieved until we look to this cultural background and build a health program which takes into account these stereotypes which are a part of the cultural heritage.

Discrimination and Segregation. Now, we come to the impact of discrimination and segregation. These two aspects of prejudice help round out the vicious cycle in which the Negro is caught.

We have been studying a part of Harlem to see what these patterns of exploitation are. For that section here is the story:

1. Only about 20 per cent of the women over fourteen years of age stay home to keep house, whereas nearly 50 per cent perform this function in the remainder of the city. The reasons they do not stay home, among others, are:

a) Negroes are discriminated against in industry; therefore one

wage earner cannot make enough to support a family, so the wife has to work.

b) The segregation means overcrowding and exploitation on rents, thereby lowering the standard of living and making it necessary for her to work.

We are comparing this area of Harlem with an area outside where the people pay approximately the same amount of rent. Seventy-two per cent of the dwelling units of the Harlem area under study were built before 1900 and for the most part are old-law tenements. Less than 10 per cent in the other area fall in this category. Sixty-five per cent of the units in Harlem do not have mechanical refrigeration as contrasted to less than 10 per cent in the other area.

Because the mother works, the children do most of the shopping; this means inadequate diet, exploitation, and cheating. Since mechanical refrigeration is not available, it means purchasing in small quantities as our price-takers found. These factors mean greater costs of living and a lowering of living standards, thereby a greater amount of disease which further lowers the family standard of living.

Industrially, this means that people continue to work when they have coughs and colds, and this means more pneumonia and tuberculosis. It means women continue to work during pregnancy, causing more abortions and more children born without prenatal care, and thereby a greater amount of infant mortality.

Because housing is so scarce and the exploitation so great many families of necessity take in boarders. The Milbank Fund Study shows the boarders to be one of the greatest carriers of tuberculosis. Thus the discrimination lowers income and segregation assists in piling upon the family tremendous problems of survival.

Segregation means overcrowding and overcrowding means a dearth of recreational facilities. This, coupled with absence of parental control means youth problems of delinquency, sexual and otherwise, the increase of venereal disease, and accidents. There

were 9,167 reportable cases of syphilis and gonorrhea in the Central Harlem Health Center District in 1942. The Army found 175 out of every 1,000 New York State Negro youth examined for the Army to be infected with venereal disease.

Remedies

I believe I have pursued this problem far enough to show the relationship between these forces. The next problem is what to do about it. Obviously, anything done to help break this cycle will help. Let's list a few that do not relate to medicine.

1. Integrate all groups into full employment with a recognition of each person on the basis of his merits. As long as Negroes are employed only in those menial jobs that fit the stereotypes of "hewers of wood and drawers of water," the problem will be with us. Then education and legislation along the lines of the newly passed Ives-Quinn Bill are a necessity. A Fair Employment Practice Committee would also help.

2. Provide adequate housing for every one. There are twelve thousand families living in basement apartments that will not be certified for occupancy by the Health Department when they are vacated by present tenants. There are still sixty thousand old-law tenements housing close to one-half million people in our city; public subsidized housing can do only a part of the job. Private enterprise in the form of savings banks and insurance companies must be persuaded to invest in slum clearance housing.

3. Break down the walls of the ghetto. As long as Negroes are relegated to slums there will be the exploitation which has continuously plagued them.

4. Open every institutional service to all groups alike. Private agencies of all sorts must be as open to Negroes as to any one else.

Among those things which relate to medical care are the following:

5. Build a program of health and consumer education out of the

needs of the community. Such programs must find the stereotypes and habits the people have which make for ill health and eradicate them through education. For the most part, we do not know what they are at the present time.

6. Develop a program of medical care that will be designed to keep people well instead of patching them up after they become ill. The development of medical practice has unfortunately grown out of a pattern akin to that of the undertaker—his living depends upon disaster overtaking people. Few medical schools offer adequate courses on how to develop such public preventive medical programs. Most proposals such as the Mayor's Compulsory Health Insurance Plan and the Murray-Wagner-Dingell Bill are great advances, but are a mopping up after the great harm has been done.

Both proposals may further lower the standard of living of the low-income groups by deducting from their salaries a fee for their health insurance. It is conceivable that they would further deteriorate the health situation for those who now receive medical care free. Effective control under either plan will have to have as a necessary aspect of it sickness insurance, so that an individual's pay does not stop when he is ill. Pneumonia and tuberculosis would be much easier controlled in Harlem, as in all such income groups, if the individual felt he could spare the time from work to stay home and rest when he has a cold.

I believe the time will be here shortly when in every health center district of New York City we will have a public hospital and medical center unit under the supervision of a staff whose success will be determined by how much improvement is made in these mortality and morbidity statistics; that the school and various adult-education groups will be used to reach people and educate them on how to handle themselves with regard to their health problems. Such a unit would be rated by how healthy it had kept the people. Such a staff would be constantly interpreting how social changes affect health.

We stand today with regard to public health where we stood a

hundred years ago with regard to education. In 1845 in New York City, people whose children attended school were those who could pay for it and those who compromised the integrity of their personality by signing a pauper's oath. The standards of education have not been lowered by socialization. Today, no one feels compromised by sending his children to public schools or public colleges. Those who want something else can always send their children to private institutions, and in medicine the same pattern could, no doubt, work. Today, we believe the total society is better off because an increasingly greater number of young people do not find the doors of opportunity shut to them because they lack opportunities for elementary, secondary, or higher education.

Today, with the wealth of resources at our disposal, we must ask ourselves whether we can achieve democracy when medical colleges must limit enrollment because of lack of resources, or because monopolistic practices within the profession curtail the production of doctors; whether we can achieve democracy when some must needs suffer because they do not have money enough for adequate medical care. We must achieve the good life for all and that will and must include the Negro.

The ultimate solution of the problem of Negro health rests in this three-way approach: research, education, and legislation.

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THE SCHOOL SOCIOECONOMIC SURVEY

Sigmund Fogler

It is generally agreed today that to be most effective in its efforts a school must know and understand the *total* child, that is, not only the child's intellectual capacity and physical status, but his emotional and social maturity, and moral status as well. In addition, in order to do the more-than-merely-teaching job the modern concept demands, the school should know the social and economic background of its patronage as far as this can be determined without prying too closely into the personal lives and family arrangements of its pupils.

To do this a questionnaire seems to be the most appropriate instrument to use. There are some such commercial compilations available, several of them even attempting an evaluation of the responses in the form of a scale of values. However, these papers are generally too limited in their range, and, because they are designed for general use, too selective in their content. In other words, they may not suit the needs of the particular school contemplating the survey.

In large cities where two schools in contiguous neighborhoods in the same school system may have dissimilar school populations regarding socioeconomic status, language spoken in the home, sociocultural patterns, intellectual equipment, recreational and cultural facilities, and the like—all affecting children both as human beings and as pupils—it is important and educationally helpful to know what the total background of the pupil personnel is in order to plan to supply, within the limits possible in a public school, some of the neighborhood lacks. For example, it is obvious that, if a neighborhood survey reveals that there are no community recreational facilities, such as playgrounds, available, the school must move to supply one for its children; again, if it is discovered that the nearest library is more than a half mile away, so situated that to reach it from the school area requires the crossing of several main traffic arteries, some library facilities must be supplied by the school.

Current community planning regards the school as a focal and central point in the neighborhood. The neighborhood itself is regarded as an area of about one thousand families, self-sufficient in the matter of an elementary school, a library, certain recreational facilities, neighborhood stores, and other, limited enterprises and services or amenities. The type of survey being discussed here would reveal how closely the area served by the school meets the needs of the newer concept of the neighborhood.

Perhaps the most important use to which a socioeconomic survey sheet can be put is in helping to understand some of the problems maladjusted children in substandard areas bring with them when they come to school. In New York City, for example, thirty-two such areas have been mapped by the City Planning Commission, some for housing projects after the war. If to these are added the housing projects already in existence, it is a safe estimate to say that at least 100,000 children are taught in schools in such areas. It is about these children, exposed to influences which may lead to delinquency, that the kind of information obtained from the type of socioeconomic survey herein contemplated may be helpful. As an instance of the kind of thing revealed, may be cited the habitual school latecomer and occasional truant who is discovered to share his bed with at least one older brother in a four-room railroad flat housing eight people, several adults among them. Of course, the proper kind and amount of sleep is out of the question when it is experienced on a folding bed in the kitchen after the rest of the menage have gone to their beds in every room in the apartment. What this situation becomes in the morning when all have to use the one kitchen sink—also used as a washstand—at about the same time, get dressed (males and females, old and young getting under each other's feet), use the one toilet—out in the hall and shared by another family as well—is best left to the imagination. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that some children are late, unclean, ill-fed, tense, nervous, indifferent, or even "bad," and not quite ready for the abstractions of education at exactly nine o'clock. However, the

teacher who has one or several such in her room and knows the cause from her study of the child's survey sheets is less ready to label the child with an undeserved epithet if she knows what the physical conditions are. That she may be able to do nothing to ameliorate the condition does not detract from the salutary effect of her understanding of and the possible guidance she may offer to the youngster to meet his difficult situation.

Furthermore, unfair as the situation may be, poor intellectual equipment, resulting in substandard educational achievement, is possibly due in part to the paucity in the cultural environment, the low socioeconomic background, the conflict in cultural patterns, the lack of acceptable recreational facilities. If a series of surveys in different areas of a school system consistently reveal these facets of the neighborhood-school picture as coming together, and, conversely, if a high socioeconomic status is found again and again with a high intellectual status and educational achievement, these may finally be seen as concomitants, and an important socioeducational law or principle be evolved. That this is desirable for educational planning there can be no gainsaying.

The value of a scale of values attached to a standardized socioeconomic scale cannot be denied. However, the current instruments so set up are based on too limited a numerical and variety of sampling. Local comparisons with these alleged norms are, therefore, likely to be inconclusive or misleading. Lacking, then, the use of a standardized mechanism, the school administrator may still get a fairly comprehensive and reliable picture of his school population by resorting to comparisons made between certain selected items from his school survey with similar or identical items available in city, State, or Federal surveys or censuses.

Consider for example, as an index of the kind of housing the neighborhood provides, the following items: the average number of persons per family, the average number of rooms occupied per family, the average rental paid, the presence of individual apartment

flush toilets, the presence of individual apartment baths, the presence of central heating, the type of cooking and lighting facilities present. For each of these items there are available comparable items for New York City and the nation. A comparison, on a percentage basis, between these items as revealed in the school survey and the city, State, or nation will give an indication of whether the neighborhood is better than, as good as, or inferior to the larger community. The same may be done for such items as average income, type of parental occupation, possession of goods such as a radio or automobile, membership in organized recreational groups, membership in public libraries, periodic attendance at motion pictures, and almost any other activity in which children engage, and in which schools have a legitimate interest.

At this point, a short digression is in order. It has been pointed out above that the type of survey herein discussed is particularly useful for a school administrator in a submarginal neighborhood. It is pertinent, then, to ask what constitutes a substandard or slum area. The Federal Government has defined it as: An area which, by reason of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangement of design, lack of ventilation, light, or sanitation facilities, or any combination of these factors, is detrimental to safety, health or morals (USHA, 1937, Sec. 2 (3)).[1] Such communities in urban areas are further characterized by factory contiguity, a shifting, low-income, large-family population, and quite frequently by comparatively large, unintegrated foreign elements following more or less closely the social patterns of the countries of origin of the inhabitants.

What we are concerned with here is, naturally, the American community as seen against what is called the "American standard." In considering what makes the submarginal community, one must consider not an abstract concept or theoretical idea, but the realities of the ecological and historical conditions. The neighborhood com-

[1] Edith Elmer Wood, *Introduction to Housing* (Washington, D. C.: PWA, USHA, 1939), p. 22.

parison must be made with the larger area of which it is a part, and whose social, economic, educational, and other standards should be part and parcel of its existence. If these fall below the accepted and existing standards of the larger community, it is substandard; if above, it is superior. It is quite possible to find outside of this country local areas, if not whole territories, where an economic level which is here considered below standard would be a superior one. This is specifically true of such industrially underdeveloped areas as Russia, Spain, the Balkans, large parts of South America, perhaps the rest of North America, all of Asia, enormous sections of Africa, even the working-class groups of the British Isles.

But comparison with these areas is not just; for socioeconomic levels have significance only in consideration of the resources available, not in the ground, but in factories and stores. It is obvious that in a territorial community such as Albania or Yugoslavia where the main street in the capital has the appearance of a secondary street in a small American town in which the State highway forms the main street and offers goods and services of a quality inferior even to those to be found in such an American community, an economic level such as is found in an American slum would be acceptable indeed. From the psychological and physical viewpoints, however, the interpretation of a socioeconomic level must be determined by consideration of the ecology and the history of the area in which the neighborhood finds itself.

The areas to be included in a survey such as the one herein discussed might well cover the following main categories: economic, social, cultural, health, recreational. As many subtopics as can be conveniently handled or are desired can be formulated under each heading. The resulting compilation may include from 20 to 60 items, each of them a valuable piece of information. Before using the sheet it is well to get the approval of the educational superior officer and the advice of neighborhood leaders such as would be found in a parents-teachers association. The purpose for which the data are

sought should be made clear and the confidential nature of an individual record be understood. Since the best use to which such a survey can be put is to understand the individual child, the information sought should be gotten from all children. At no point, however, should a child be compelled to give information, nor need all questions be answered by all children. Where they are either too immature or incapable of giving the responses needed, the parents may be addressed or the teacher may fill in the answers in a confidential interview with the youngster. The data once gotten remains the inviolable property of the child, but is merely in the care of the school. It should be available only to the teacher and the principal for the guidance of the child.

After each teacher has compiled her class data, the principal may have the data for the school put together. It is suggested that at this point whole numbers be turned into percentages so that comparisons might be made with similar items in city, State, or nation. For instance, to know that 150 children out of 700 who answered a specific question report not owning a radio is interesting. But it is more helpful when, turned into a percentage, this item reveals that 79 per cent of the children responding report a radio in their homes, whereas throughout the United States as a whole 82 per cent of the people own radios, and in New York City 92 per cent of the homes report one.

The data for the neighborhood are not complete until a physical survey of the school area recorded on a spot map has been made. This could be as revealing as the other items gathered. For instance, in slum areas, it might show abandoned buildings, partly occupied buildings, empty lots, factories, garages, stables, lumber yards, motion-picture houses, churches, clubs, in that helter-skelter welter which is the mark and characteristic of the typical unplanned community. What this jumble means in terms of neighborhood cleanliness, disciplinary controls, delinquency tendencies, and other legitimate school interests is not difficult to grasp. Furthermore,

the existence or lack of integrating neighborhood influences such as proper recreational facilities and churches, libraries, social-service units, and the like can be spotted and steps taken to ameliorate the condition if necessary.

Such a survey serves two major purposes. In the first place, since it gives a background picture of the child, it helps to present him as a functioning personality in a three-dimension world, hence easier to understand and guide. Secondly, it sketches in a background which is certainly as potent an influence in forming children as are the home and the school. Armed with such data, gotten on the spot and as objective as a budget, school people and other interested persons can appear before budget makers and show the insistent need for a public library here, a recreational center there, a health center further on, etc. In addition to this, of course, the kind of neighborhood revealed in the survey will indicate to the head of the school the extent to which he needs to enlist the cooperation of social-service agencies to help in the eternal struggle against moral and social disintegration otherwise known as delinquency.

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DO YOU LEARN TO DO BY DOING?

Archer Willis Hurd

Slogans and pithy catch phrases are very effective in our country where democratic ideals prevail. Undoubtedly, they have a considerable effect in emotionalizing a group for a dynamic movement in favor of, or against, a given practice or proposal. "You learn to do by doing" is one such educational precept which contains elements of truth but not the whole truth. In formal education, it has helped to emphasize the need for *practice* and *experience* as well as *theory,* because, often, the theory is not understandable unless it is preceded, accompanied, or followed by practice. "Practice makes perfect" is another related slogan, which is only partly true. There are many such statements which may, wisely, be critically examined for possible revision, so that they may contain only truth and no trace of falsehood. As whole nations may founder because they follow false gods and unsound principles, so may an educational system or organization be led astray because of wrongly placed guideposts intended to direct the way toward wisely chosen objectives. We are too easily led from the good road by plausible and inviting appeal.

The phrase, "You learn to do by doing," was originally a warning against the exclusive theoretical teaching in our schools and colleges. A didactic, theoretical, or academic system of education has been, and still is, too prevalent in formal educational institutions. That is why forward-looking educators have in recent years stressed the need for experience and practice. In the sciences, the laboratory was an addition to the classroom not so long ago. Today, field trips, cooperative education, student teaching, games and exercises in physical education, the internship in medicine, student nursing, and so on, represent efforts to "learn by doing." We must not forget, however, that the method of apprenticeship, prominent in bygone European history, and even followed today in many vocations, is

exclusively built upon the concept of *"learning while doing."* With simple manual tasks, the practice method is all that is essential. But even here—bricklaying as a stated example—improvements in product, and efficiency in the use of time and motion, have been accomplished through studied intellectual observation and applied theory. A man's mind is bound to work in degree even while physical activity is in process. Does it operate to the limits of its capacity when physical activity is under way concomitantly, perhaps with a conflicting purpose in the focus of consciousness?

It is obvious that many workers do not improve with long and continued experience. Some deteriorate and retrograde. There is a natural tendency to get into certain habits of doing which may not always be good habits. Thinking is hard work which must be pursued with diligence and determination. Often it is easier just to "go through the motions," and not be concerned with queries directed toward improvement. Lack of improvement is especially to be deplored when new discoveries are being made in the field, and one must exert effort to keep in touch with these discoveries if one wishes to remain efficient under changing conditions. This is an argument against unlimited employment tenure and in favor of some form of proof that the employee is maintaining, or growing in, efficiency. If we might be assured of competent and honest judgments, tenure should be more reasonably based on demonstrated efficiency than on age alone.

The purpose of this discussion is to revise the statement, "You learn to do by doing," in order to make it more completely true. The first revision adds *thinking* and *studying* to *doing,* to make learning more sure. "You learn to do by thinking, studying, and doing"— and we know not what the best order for these is. Logically they should interchange with one another and sometimes proceed concomitantly. But without continued mental effort we cannot be sure of improvement. And the kind of work under consideration will have an effect in determining both the order and the amount

of each. In other words, in applying this principle, the particular elements of the situation must be taken into consideration.

A second revision reads, "You learn to do by purposing, planning, doing, and evaluating." Again the order of the elements, particularly the last three, will be dependent upon circumstances and types of work. It seems obvious that, in an intelligent universe, purposing should come first. In other words, work should be eminently purposeful. Furthermore, it is important that the purpose should be socially and individually worthy and desirable. There may easily be found examples of workers in this world who have mastered the principle as stated and follow through intelligently and cleverly, but not always in a socially acceptable manner. Hence, the matter of the worthiness and desirability of the *doing,* from the standpoint of one's fellows, as well as one's self, becomes a crucial element in the whole process.

The place of society as an entity, and the place of the individual in the scheme of things, is thus being pushed forward as the outstanding problem of human life. Is the social group pre-eminent and does the individual exist and work for the good of this group, *or* is the individual—his satisfaction and happiness—the important objective, with social organization and government primarily designed for the guarantee of individual freedom and liberty? The last two world wars have been fought around this issue and the world of the future must secure a satisfying solution to the problem. The dual nature of the individual, and social groups, must be clearly recognized. The social group is merely a collection of individuals. The satisfaction and happiness of the person and of his fellows are bound up together. The great truth to be learned is that one must get one's happiness and satisfactions with those of one's fellows. We have not solved this problem satisfactorily in any social organization yet developed. If we but have a determined, collective purpose to solve it, exert all our intellectual abilities in making plans to solve it, put our theoretical plans to the test of performance, and con-

tinually apply the best devices we can find to evaluate our performances, we may learn eventually how one's own self, and one's fellows, can, together, best secure satisfaction, happiness, and contentment in individual and social life.

So, "We learn to do by purposing, planning, doing, and evaluating," if applied to our most crucial unsolved problem, gives the most promise of successful solution.

A challenging problem in any field of learning is that involving the best arrangements for the use of experience and practice in finally achieving the most satisfactory results. But this is inextricably tied up with purposing, planning, and evaluating.

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THE AMERICAN EDITORIAL CARTOON—A CRITICAL HISTORICAL SKETCH

Roger Penn Cuff

Published drawings that are designed to produce a humorous effect and to teach a lesson are editorial cartoons. When a cartoonist creates a sketch that is both pictorial and editorial, he communicates an opinion or a conviction. He reveals a preference for, or a judgment against, some person or class or issue or foible. Both social and political cartoons have been used as editorial vehicles.

The main form of published caricature in the United States during the nineteenth century was the political cartoon. The Nation was young and was interested in its own governmental progress. It had not yet built a rich set of social conventions. Cartoonists naturally, therefore, seized upon political issues more readily than upon problems primarily social or economic.

To be most effective, a cartoon must have three characteristics: sparkling wit, a basic element of fact, and a didactic or editorial purpose. The wit must be not merely lambent but pungent—keen and clever. The factual basis should include one or more characters enough like particular persons to be recognized as those persons and a situation similar enough to one in which the character or characters have actually been to be accepted as a probable or real situation. The didactic purpose should be to express an earnest, deepseated conviction held by the cartoonist. Essentially false caricatures cannot live long. Neither can those which do not rest upon the firm moral persuasion of the artist that creates them.

The prodding, preaching, satirizing purpose of cartoons varies from a mild form of raillery to a form almost brutally sharp. Caricature cannot be irrationally partisan and extremely abusive except at the peril of its own destruction. The range of satire is played upon with subtle variations by caricaturists. If the raillery is mild, the

humor must not be too obvious. If the ridicule is strong, the satire must not be too abusive. As long as a caricature is subtle and not overabusive and possesses all three of the characteristics that have been named, it will be effective.

A very brief historical sketch of the cartoon in America may be of value toward recognizing the importance of the editorial cartoon. In ancient times, some artistically minded Egyptians presented humor in graphic form. In more recent times, the United States has produced some great caricaturists. Some of the most prominent of the American cartoonists have been William Charles, Thomas Nast, Joseph Keppler, Bernhard Gillam, Art Young, J. N. Darling (also known as "Ding"), and Herbert Johnson.

In America, the nineteenth century was important for its political cartoons. Nevins and Weitenkampf have divided the century into four periods of caricature.

The first lasted from 1800 to about 1830. During this time such cartoons as were produced (they were neither numerous nor on the whole highly effective) were woodcuts or engravings in copper. William Charles, the most famous cartoonist of these three decades, made Britain the butt of his drawings during the War of 1812. Amos Doolittle and Elkanah Tisdale were cartoonists of fair ability. Doolittle designed some cartoons dealing with the War of 1812. Tisdale in 1812 made the famous "Gerrymander" out of a map which showed a redistricting, by the Democrats, of the townships of Essex County, Massachusetts. The artist, after drawing upon the map some wings, teeth, and claws, remarked, "That will do for a salamander." Some one else suggested that the dragonlike creature should be called a "Gerrymander," for Elbridge Gerry, who was then governor of Massachusetts. The "Gerrymander" cartoon was published in the *Boston Weekly Messenger,* March 26, 1812.

The second period began about 1830 and continued to about 1865 or even later. This was a period when lithography helped to make cartoons numerous and popular. The lithograph was less expensive

than the earlier copper engraving. Currier and Ives, to mention only one firm, made many lithographed prints, some of which were rather interesting cartoons, especially those drawn by Louis Maurer, even though most of the graphic designs of this period were somewhat naïve and conventional. Most of the prints made in this period were too complicated. They dealt with too many characters and used too many speeches. They lacked quick wit and rippling humor. They leaned too strongly upon hackneyed ideas. Among the good prints published by Currier and Ives were some dealing with the slavery question, the first Republican presidential campaign—that of John Charles Frémont—in 1856, and Lincoln's first presidential race in 1860. The better cartoonists of the period were James Akin (a part of his work belonged to the first period), Edward Williams Clay, Napoleon Sarony, David Claypoole Johnston, and Louis Maurer.

So influential was the Currier and Ives firm of lithographers that a brief sketch of the history of that firm should perhaps be given here. The two partners were Nathaniel Currier and James M. Ives. Currier served a lithographer's apprenticeship in Boston and opened a shop of his own in New York in 1834, when he was twenty-two. He was more of a businessman than an artist. Ives joined the firm in 1852. He was a brother-in-law to Nathaniel Currier's brother. He was an artist. It was he who made the four famous prints titled "The Four Seasons of Life" and subtitled "Childhood," "Youth," "Middle Age," and "Old Age." The heyday of the Currier and Ives firm was 1840–1890, a period of speed and artistry in producing prints of events and scenes that appealed to the popular imagination. In 1907 the firm succumbed to the competition with photography and color printing. Harry Twyford Peters, of New York City, has made a collection of about 6,000 Currier and Ives prints, the largest Currier and Ives collection in the world.

The third period continued from about 1865 or 1870 to about 1885. Within these two decades the weekly journal dominated the

field of caricature. The weekly magazine most famous for its political cartoons was *Harper's Weekly,* established in 1857. This was the golden era of the political cartoon. The most prominent caricature artists were Thomas Nast, Joseph Keppler, and Bernhard Gillam. Nast published in *Harper's Weekly* cartoons of the Civil War and of postwar party conflicts. Keppler published in *Leslie's Weekly* and in *Puck* some keenly humorous drawings. Gillam published in *Puck* some pro-Cleveland cartoons and later in *Judge* some anti-Cleveland caricatures. Nast was perhaps the greatest cartoonist that America has produced and probably one of the five or six greatest cartoonists that the world has produced. These three men ranked high. They had a large influence upon the national election of 1884. Their drawings were artistic, witty, and pungently satirical.

The final period of the century, about a decade and a half, was one in which the daily newspapers became the leading medium for the publication of cartoons. The *New York Daily Graphic* began to publish humorous drawings in the 1870's. John Wesley Jarvis holds the distinction of having designed the first cartoon that was published in an American newspaper. His "Death of the Embargo" appeared in the *New York Evening Post,* 1814. From that date not another cartoon is known to have received newspaper publication until 1839, and very few were so honored until the 1880's. In the eighties, the *New York World* became famous for its cartoons. It was during the presidential campaign of 1884 that the publication of graphic satires in the daily newspapers produced a really powerful effect. A drawing by Walt McDougall, "The Royal Feast of Belshazzar Blaine and the Money Kings," made a tremendous impression when published in the *New York World,* October 30, 1884. This drawing, based upon Blaine's attendance at a dinner, which had been arranged by the plutocrat Levi P. Morton and which was attended by a group of plutocrats, emphasized the conflict between poverty and wealth. The effect

was immediate and electric. During the closing decade of the century, it became common practice for daily newspapers to publish cartoons. This practice has continued to the present day. The type of newspaper that has been fostered by Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst has encouraged the production of a large amount of graphic humor for publication in the papers owned by these men.

Some of the American dailies that have been notable for cartoons are the *New York Journal*, the *New York Herald Tribune*, the *New York World-Telegram*, the *New York Evening Mail*, *The New York Times*, the *New York Evening Post*, the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Chicago Daily News*, the *Cleveland World*, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, the *Cleveland Leader*, the *Detroit Free Press*, the *Columbus Dispatch*, the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, the *Milwaukee Journal*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Washington Daily News*. Some of the leading cartoonists for twentieth-century newspapers have been John T. McCutcheon, who drew for the *Chicago Tribune;* Frederick B. Opper, who drew for the *New York Journal* and the *New York American;* J. N. Darling, who published cartoons in the *Sioux City Journal*, the *Des Moines Register*, the *New York Globe*, and the *New York Herald Tribune;* Charles Green Bush, who published in the *New York World;* Homer Davenport, who was a draughtsman for the *New York Journal* and the *New York Evening Mail;* and Charles R. Macauley, who was a cartoonist for the *Cleveland World*, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, the *Cleveland Leader*, the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, and the *New York World*.

Some of the periodicals that have published cartoons within the twentieth century are *Puck*, *Judge*, *Life*, *The Masses*, *Vanity Fair*, *The New Yorker*, and *New Masses*. These have, however, been outshone in the field of caricature by the newspapers, whose cartoonists immediately seize upon the important new issues that arise. Some of the outstanding caricaturists for twentieth-century American periodicals have been J. S. Pughe, who has drawn for

Puck; Art Young, who has published in *Judge* and *Life* and *The Masses;* and Herbert Johnson, who has contributed cartoons to *The Saturday Evening Post.* These men hold a somewhat lower rating than Nast, Keppler, and Bernhard Gillam, who drew for the humorous weeklies in the period that ended about 1885.

Some occasions when political cartoons have flourished in this country have been the War of 1812, Andrew Jackson's administrations, the war with Mexico, the Civil War, the Reconstruction period, the Hayes-Tilden campaign of 1876, the Cleveland-Blaine campaign of 1884, the McKinley Tariff issue of 1890, the Spanish-American War, the Theodore Roosevelt administrations, and the first and second world wars. Such notable political figures as Jackson, Lincoln, Johnson, Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, and Franklin D. Roosevelt have all inspired a sizable amount of caricature. Stephen A. Douglas, Samuel J. Tilden, and James G. Blaine were also subjected to much cartooning.

The political cartoon is the kind that has been predominant in the American press. Another kind, the social cartoon, has been somewhat prominent since about 1880. Some of the social cartoons have taken the side of the battle against trusts. Some have satirized the Populist movement. Art Young, Rollin Kirby, and Boardman Robinson have all drawn some social cartoons.

Even the political cartoons help to reveal the social life of the times represented in the caricatures. These cartoons display costumes, furnishings, colloquialisms, slogans, and even some elements of folklore, such as the popular conceptions of the symbols representing Brother Jonathan, Uncle Sam, Tammany Hall, and the Democratic and Republican parties.

Some of the more important of the living American cartoonists are John T. McCutcheon, Rollin Kirby, J. N. Darling, Boardman Robinson, Herbert Johnson, Harold Tucker Webster, Denys Wortman, Daniel R. Fitzpatrick, William Gropper, Daniel Bishop, Otto Soglow, Vaughn Shoemaker, and Peter Arno. McCutcheon has

published some of his best work in the *Chicago Tribune.* In 1931 he received the Pulitzer prize for cartoons. Kirby published a series of social cartoons in the *New York World* in 1913. He has also drawn political cartoons for various New York newspapers. Since August of 1942 he has been cartoonist for *Look* magazine. Darling, since working in his earlier career for the *Sioux City Journal* and the *Des Moines Register,* has been cartoonist for the *New York Globe* and the *New York Herald Tribune.* Robinson published a book of cartoons of the first world war; was cartoonist for the *Outlook,* London, 1922–1923; and has served on the staff of various newspapers in America. Johnson has been cartoonist for the *Philadelphia North American* and *The Saturday Evening Post.* Webster has published cartoons in the *New York World,* the *New York Tribune,* and the *New York Herald Tribune.* Wortman was cartoonist for the *New York World* from 1924 to 1930 and has been cartoonist for the *New York World-Telegram* since 1930. Fitzpatrick has been cartoonist for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* since 1913. He has also contributed caricatures to *Collier's Weekly.* In 1926 he won the Pulitzer prize for cartoons. Gropper published in 1927 a book of political cartoons entitled *The Golden Land.* He has also drawn illustrations for numerous other books. Bishop was once cartoonist for the *Oregon Journal,* Portland. Since 1929 he has been draughtsman for the *St. Louis Star-Times.* Soglow has served as cartoonist for *The New Yorker, Life, Judge, Collier's* and *Harper's Bazaar.* Shoemaker has been the chief cartoonist of the *Chicago Daily News* since 1925. In 1938 he received the Pulitzer prize for cartoons. He has published several books of graphic humor. Arno has been on the staff of *The New Yorker* since 1925. He has also contributed to *The Saturday Evening Post, Harper's Bazaar,* and other magazines.

During the nineteenth century, editorial cartoons were comparatively rare. Even then, however, Joseph Keppler, Bernhard Gillam, and above all Thomas Nast created some editorial cartoons. Keppler

through his cartoons expressed his opinions freely; some people have thought, too freely. In various pictorial satires, he revealed opposition to the papacy, to Brigham Young's polygamy, and to Garfield's presidential candidacy. He also expressed his sympathy for Cleveland's candidacy in the race against Blaine. Gillam, during the presidential campaign of 1884, contributed to the magazine *Puck* some strongly pro-Cleveland cartoons. Later, after he became a contributor to *Judge,* his work was strongly anti-Cleveland. Nast made himself a powerful force through his editorial drawings for *Harper's Weekly*. During Lincoln's second race for the presidency, in 1864, Nast published a cartoon, entitled "Compromise with the South," in which he opposed appeasement and a negotiated peace. During the era of Reconstruction, he was anti-Johnson and pro-Grant. Later he satirized the Tweed Ring of New York City. In his caricatures he could quote Shakespeare with telling effect. He also borrowed clever ideas from Aesop's fables, *The Arabian Nights' Entertainments,* Cervantes, and other writers. He added to these ideas the dual power of his own artistry and imagination. He was a truly great editorial cartoonist, one of the greatest of all time. These three men were probably not the only editorial cartoonists in the period of the humorous weeklies, but the three belonged to the top rank.

Since the heyday of Nast, Keppler, and Gillam, *i.e.,* during the period when the newspapers have dominated the publication of cartoons—from 1885 till now—some of the outstanding editorial cartoonists have been Young, Darling, Robinson, Johnson, Bishop, and Shoemaker.

Young expressed his firm convictions and his conceptions of social justice in social cartoons, employing ridicule that stopped short of invective. He was primarily a social, rather than a political, cartoonist. One of his most famous cartoons was entitled "This World of Creepers." It represented people as living in fear of one another, of life, of death, and of even the Supreme Being. In another drawing,

he represented plutocracy as near coming into the toils of the law.

Darling has unhesitatingly put his strong convictions into his richly humorous caricatures, even when his opinions have been somewhat at variance with those editorially held by papers to which he has contributed. One of his most notable cartoons was named "Disarmament Conference of 1932." This drawing represented both England and the United States as occupying pews at church and as jovially and hypocritically looking up toward the heavens just at the moment when a plate was being passed for a contribution to finance a disarmament program.

Robinson has made some cartoons dealing with the horrors of the first world war and with the Treaty of Versailles. He has produced highly artistic pictorial sketches that have not been forced to conform to editorial views of newspapers that he has served. One of his best-known cartoons is "Europe, 1916" or "Europe Lured to Destruction." The drawing presents a lean donkey wearily approaching a dangerous precipice, lured onward by a carrot named Victory that is suspended before the donkey from a pole in the hand of the character Death, which is the creature's mount.

Johnson is an anti-New Dealer. He has satirized the high spending rate of the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration. He has represented the taxpayer as being in some difficult situations because of the expenditure of billions of dollars by the government. One of these cartoons is entitled "Nonsense! If it gets too deep, you can easily pull me out!" words that are spoken by a corpulent woman, symbolizing government spending, to a frail man, symbolic of the taxpayer, when both the woman and the man are wading in the deep waters of debt. After the entry of America into the second world war, Johnson did some cartooning encouraging to the war effort. His cartoon, "Our Way to Handle Vandals!" shows Uncle Sam holding the gun of production with which to exterminate Hitler, Tojo, and Mussolini, vandals bent on destroying America's democratic institutions.

Bishop has published in the *St. Louis Star-Times* a cartoon that was reproduced in the *Omaha World-Herald,* "Double Standard—War Front and Home Front." It represents factory workers as having to be pleaded with to remain at their posts and produce the supplies needed by soldiers who fight under command.

Shoemaker has published in the *Chicago Daily News* a cartoon, also reprinted in the *World-Herald,* "But I'm Giving 'Til It Hurts Now!" This drawing represents an American civilian as uttering the words of the title in response to a request that he purchase bonds during the Sixth War Loan Campaign. A soldier, on crutches and with one leg missing, replies to the civilian by asking, "What did you say, Mister?"

This brief sketch of cartoons and cartoonists, especially those marked by a definitely editorial tinge, reveals that American caricature is abundant. The cartoons of the twentieth century, though not bringing to light any draughtsman of Thomas Nast's power and reputation, are, on the average, of high quality. Editorial cartoons, because of their natural appeal, have a wider circulation and probably a greater influence than the all-verbal editorials. Even when a pictorial editorial does not remove a particular social condition at which the cartoon strikes, it may eliminate some kindred condition that needs removing. Clever cartoons are, beyond question, instruments of tremendous editorial power.

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THE CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES

Walter G. Bowerman

In his book *The Pulse of Progress* (1926), Dr. Ellsworth Huntington set forth an interesting law which applies to cities and the people who live in and near them. His statement was as follows: "Usually the regions with small or few cities contain a large percentage of backward, inefficient people like the inert peasants of Russia, Turkey and China or the Negroes of South Carolina. The places with a large proportion of city-dwellers contain a large percentage of bright, energetic, progressive people." It has occurred to me to review the population of the United States with this statement in mind. For this purpose I have prepared a list by States of all the cities which in 1930 contained 25,000 or more people. The use of 1930 in place of 1940 does not make much difference, and it avoids the complexity arising from the migrations of the 1930's from city to rural areas and back again.

Looking at the matter first from the simple, and also somewhat crude, viewpoint, we may compare the population of the largest city in a State with that of the entire State. In a few instances there are two cities which merit this distinction. The District of Columbia has been combined with Maryland for this analysis. The arrangement is according to the metropolitan proportion of the population. The figures on this basis appear in Table A.

There are a number of matters of considerable interest which are revealed by Table A. (1) For several decades New York City and Washington, D.C., have been struggling for financial and political leadership of the country. An inordinate proportion of our Who's Who and Phi Beta Kappa people live in one of those metropolitan centers. In this tabulation they stand distinctly above the others listed. (2) All of the first five States are in the North and four of them are in the northeast, the area of most intensive industrial and commercial development. (3) All of the Pacific States appear in the

Table A

RELATION OF METROPOLIS TO REMAINDER OF STATES' POPULATION BY RANK ORDER, 1930

Unit: 1,000 Persons

Rank in Column (5) (1)	*State and Population* (2)	*Largest City and Population* (3)	*Next Largest City (if outstanding) and Population* (4)	*Proportion of Metropolis to State* (5) %
1.	Maryland and D.C. (2,115)	Baltimore (805)	Washington (487)	60.9
2.	New York (12,564)	N. Y. City (6,930)	Buffalo (573)	59.7
3.	Delaware (238)	Wilmington (107)		45.0
4.	Illinois (7,616)	Chicago (3,376)		44.3
5.	Rhode Island (687)	Providence (253)		36.8
6.	Missouri (3,613)	St. Louis (822)	Kansas City (400)	33.8
7.	California (5,658)	Los Angeles (1,238)	San Francisco (634)	33.0
8.	Michigan (4,854)	Detroit (1,569)		32.3
9.	Oregon (951)	Portland (302)		31.8
10.	Minnesota (2,560)	Minneapolis (464)	St. Paul (272)	28.7
11.	Colorado (1,034)	Denver (288)		27.9
12.	Utah (507)	Salt Lake City (140)		27.6
13.	Pennsylvania (9,604)	Philadelphia (1,950)	Pittsburgh (670)	27.2
14.	Washington (1,559)	Seattle (366)		23.5
15.	Louisiana (2,099)	New Orleans (459)		21.9
16.	Ohio (6,639)	Cleveland (900)	Cincinnati (451)	20.4
17.	Connecticut (1,602)	Hartford (164)	New Haven (163)	20.4
18.	Wisconsin (2,940)	Milwaukee (578)		19.6
19.	New Jersey (4,028)	Newark (442)	Jersey City (317)	18.7
20.	Massachusetts (4,243)	Boston (781)		18.4
21.	New Hampshire (463)	Manchester (77)		16.6
22.	Florida (1,461)	Jacksonville (130)	Miami (110)	16.4
23.	Nebraska (1,379)	Omaha (214)		15.5
24.	Oklahoma (2,390)	Oklahoma City (185)	Tulsa (141)	13.7
25.	Kansas (1,882)	Kansas City (122)	Wichita (111)	12.4
26.	Kentucky (2,603)	Louisville (308)		11.8
27.	Indiana (3,228)	Indianapolis (364)		11.3
28.	Alabama (2,636)	Birmingham (260)		9.8
29.	Tennessee (2,605)	Memphis (253)		9.7
30.	Texas (5,810)	Houston (292)	Dallas (260)	9.5
31.	Georgia (2,901)	Atlanta (279)		9.3
32.	Maine (795)	Portland (71)		8.9
33.	Virginia (2,411)	Richmond (183)		7.6

first fourteen, and none of the southern States is in that section of the table. (4) The first southern State is Louisiana (No. 15) and the next is Florida (No. 22), after which the southern States are in the

majority. (5) The table is an example of Pareto's law, with few near the top and many near the bottom.

In contrast to Table A we may note that there were four States which had no cities of 25,000 or more people; these were Nevada (91), Wyoming (225), Vermont (358), and Idaho (443). There were six States which had one or more cities of over 25,000 but no city of 50,000 or more people: New Mexico (424), Arizona (438), Montana (538), North Dakota (680), South Dakota (693), and Mississippi (2,010). The ten States in these two groups include all of the eight Mountain States, except Colorado (No. 11) and Utah (No. 12), and also include four States in which agriculture predominates—Mississippi in the deep South (by far the most populous of the ten), the Dakotas in the North Center, and Vermont in New England.

After the 33 States of Table A and the ten others just listed there remain but five which have not yet been accounted for. These are as follows in descending order of the ratio of the population in the largest city to that of the entire State: Iowa (2,467) with Des Moines (5.8 per cent); West Virginia (1,724) with Huntington (4.5 per cent); Arkansas (1,847) with Little Rock (4.4 per cent); South Carolina (1,733) with Charleston (3.5 per cent); and North Carolina (3,156) with Charlotte (2.7 per cent). These are all essentially agricultural States, except West Virginia in which mining is the chief industry.

Although the material of Table A is quite informative and the results accord with many of our independent views, there are items which do not satisfy. For example, Massachusetts (No. 20) should stand higher. Another approach may be made, namely, by considering metropolitan districts. This idea originated in 1926 when a committee of the chambers of commerce studied the matter. In 1930 the United States Census included a volume of 250 pages on this subject, the first of its kind in this country. There were 96 such districts, each having an aggregate population of 100,000 or more, built around one or more central cities of at least 50,000 inhabitants. In a few cases

a single metropolitan district covered portions of two States. Let us see how the tabulation appears when the 96 such districts are distributed by States and compared with their population. This is indicated in Table B.

TABLE B

RATIO OF POPULATION OF METROPOLITAN DISTRICTS OF STATES TO TOTAL STATE POPULATION, 1930

Unit: 1,000 Persons

Item Number	*State and Population* (1)	*Population of All Metropolitan Districts* (2)	*Ratio Per Cent of* (2) *to* (1)
1–2	Massachusetts and Rhode Island (4,930)	4,308	87.4
3–4	New York and New Jersey (16,592)	13,404	80.8
5	Maryland and District of Columbia (2,115)	1,570	74.2
6	California (5,658)	4,020	71.0
7	Connecticut (1,602)	1,110	69.3
8	Delaware (238)	164	69.0
9	Pennsylvania (9,604)	6,622	69.0
10–11	Missouri and Illinois (11,229)	6,515	58.0
12	Ohio (6,639)	3,796	57.2
13	Michigan (4,854)	2,492	51.3
14	Washington (1,559)	696	44.6
15	Oregon (951)	379	39.9
16	Minnesota (2,560)	987	38.6
17	Utah (507)	184	36.3
18	Colorado (1,034)	331	32.0
19	Florida (1,461)	450	30.8
20	Tennessee (2,605)	790	30.3
21	Wisconsin (2,940)	876	29.8
22	West Virginia (1,724)	462	26.8
23	Indiana (3,228)	815	25.2
24	Virginia (2,411)	596	24.7
25	Louisiana (2,099)	495	23.6
26	Texas (5,810)	1,221	21.0
27	Georgia (2,901)	476	16.4
28	Oklahoma (2,390)	385	16.0
29	Kentucky (2,603)	404	15.5
30–31	Nebraska and Iowa (3,846)	589	15.3
32	Alabama (2,636)	383	14.5
33	Kansas (1,882)	119	6.3
34	Arkansas (1,847)	113	6.1

The general outlines of Table B are much like those of Table A, but I believe it is more representative and characteristic of the metropolitan influence in American life. In my book, *A Study of American Genius,* Massachusetts was found to be the prime source of that leaven in the mass of citizenry. It was closely followed by Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York State. In Table B the first nine States stand considerably above the others and all of them are in the northeast except California. After these leaders the middle west stands out prominently. The southern States are toward the end of the table and the first two of them are Florida (No. 19) and Tennessee (No. 20). The same ten States remain as noted under Table A; *i.e.,* having no cities of 50,000 or more people. The four States which then remain are New Hampshire, Maine, South Carolina, and North Carolina. In each of these there is a city of over 50,000 people but without a metropolitan area totaling as many as 100,000 population. It is indeed remarkable that in Massachusetts and Rhode Island seven persons of every eight live within a great metropolitan district.

At this point I will quote again from Dr. Huntington's *Pulse of Progress* regarding the nature of cities. "Cities are a sign of energy, ability, wealth and civilization. They are a result and also a cause of these conditions. The first essential for the growth of a big city is people of special talents. The growth of cities does *not* depend primarily on the excellence of their harbors, transportation systems, and the density of population. Java has a dense population but no very large cities compared to Australia with a sparse population and two great cities. Similarly compare South Carolina with California."

In discussing Table A, I referred to it as an example of Pareto's law, with few at the top and many at the bottom. However, the less densely populated States are much larger in area than those of greater density. Thus the total population tends to be equalized among the States.

One is tempted to inquire why the metropolitan areas grew up in

TABLE C

BANK DEPOSITS PER CAPITA BY STATES IN RANK ORDER FOR 1942

State	Relative Bank Deposits per Capita	State	Relative Bank Deposits per Capita
New York	284	Montana	64
District of Columbia	198	Indiana	64
Delaware	193	Wyoming	61
Massachusetts	177	Iowa	59
Connecticut	171	Nebraska	58
Rhode Island	148	Kansas	54
California	142	Virginia	53
Illinois	113	Texas	53
New Hampshire	108	Idaho	52
Nevada	108	Arizona	51
Washington	104	Florida	50
New Jersey	103	North Dakota	45
Pennsylvania	102	Louisiana	43
Maryland	98	Tennessee	41
Oregon	92	South Dakota	39
Vermont	90	Kentucky	38
Ohio	86	Georgia	36
Michigan	81	Oklahoma	36
Maine	80	West Virginia	32
Missouri	74	New Mexico	32
Utah	72	North Carolina	30
Colorado	70	Alabama	30
Wisconsin	69	Arkansas	28
Minnesota	67	Mississippi	24
		South Carolina	23

such profusion where they did. For example, in Massachusetts it may be observed that, aside from Springfield, all the population aggregates are in the eastern part, not far from the protected harbor of Boston. By far the largest focus of population in the United States centers at New York City with nearly eleven million people in the metropolitan area, and the finest harbor in the country. By way of the Hudson River this is also the entrance to the Erie Canal. Except for Binghamton, all the other centers of population in New York State are on the Erie Canal, with access to the iron and timber and other vast resources of the Great Lakes. Boston has done well, but it

lacked this contact with a huge, rich hinterland. Those who are interested in following up the reasons for the presence of great American cities where they are will find many valuable chapters in Ellsworth Huntington's *Principles of Human Geography.*

The purpose of this paper is to show the influence of large cities upon the regions in which they are located. One characteristic of large cities is the presence of banks and substantial bank deposits. Something of the civilizational value of a community can be gauged from the volume of bank deposits per capita. In Table C the States are arranged according to this criterion. Opposite the name of each State there appears an index number, which is the ratio of its per capita deposits to those of all the United States. The data are for December 31, 1942.

From Table C the following may be noted: (1) This also is an example of Pareto's law, with a steep gradient near the top and many States bringing up a sluggish rear guard. (2) Only 12 States and the District of Columbia have more bank deposits per capita than the average for the entire United States. (3) The order is much the same in general as that shown in Tables A and B. In fact the rank correlation is +.64 with each of those tabulations, indicating a close and direct relationship. The first six States are all in the northeast; the Pacific Coast States all rank among the first fifteen on the list. It is remarkable that the first southern State (Virginia) in Table C is thirty-first in rank.

One could study American cities from many other angles such as illiteracy, rates of suicide, homicide, general mortality and crime. But enough has been said in this brief paper to confirm the text with which the paper began. In passing it may be noted that recent papers by other writers have interestingly analyzed the cities of the United States into (a) their functional basis (transportation, manufacturing, tourist trade, for example) and (b) their probable change in size in the postwar period.

THE FAMILY, LAW, AND RELIGION AS COHESIVE FACTORS IN SOCIETY

Herbert H. Stroup

Every society, large or small, primitive or advanced, faces the problem of social solidarity. There is need in our society for a sense of social inclusiveness that will overcome the divisiveness of which war is an example. The final means of establishing world-wide peace is through the establishment of world-wide social brotherhood. Anything less than world-wide social brotherhood is less than the requirements for a durable peace. In these sobering days it is well to examine the bases on which society may be united and given that solidarity which it so sorely needs. Three effective means of increasing the solidarity of society will be discussed here, although others do exist.

The Family

The family is perhaps the most basic coordinator of individual interest that is known. Human societies without the family could scarcely exist. Families unite men's passions around a biologically founded principle of brotherhood. The fact of brotherhood is so firmly realized, through the intrafamily relations with father, mother, brother, and sisters, that no one who is living can deny in some way or other the formative brotherhood tendencies which he possesses as a result of his experience within the family.

The basic tie in the family is that of kinship. The brother and sisters have no meaning apart from their father and mother. There is the traceable knowledge of parenthood which reminds family members that they are "all of one blood." There can be no denial of that fact. One may choose to leave the family, but one is still bound to it inextricably through nominal kinship ties. One may choose to change one's name and occupation, or any other superficial aspect of life, but one is still unable to change the basic physical and psychological structure of the individual. He is what he is because he

was born into a particular family grouping. It was this aspect of inevitability in part which led the great American sociologist Charles Cooley to describe the family as "a primary group" in contradistinction to other groups which are more or less "secondary."

Thus, the family forms one of the basic elements in a society and operates to draw together an otherwise indiscriminately related population.

The difficulty with the family as the ultimate social cohesive lies in the fact that the family or kinship group or clan is not always identifiable with the society as a whole. That is, the individual family places its allegiances before those of other families and vice versa. The family basis for unity is good, so far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. When the kinship group is extended too far, as in the case of so-called "pure aryan Germans," the inadequacy of the clan basis for uniting society is evident. The larger group which is supposed to be joined by reasons of blood becomes a monster of social injustice in the larger community of nations, for its pretense, while uniting some, fails to be inclusive enough. In fact, such a type of clan society as exemplified in modern Germany can exist only when there are other clans, self-created or assumed, which can act servily in opposition to the "divinely appointed" race. The family basis of uniting society is simply not elastic enough; it is not inclusive enough; it tends to arrogance and conflict.

Aside from this, though, it must be recognized that the individual family formation within our society is fundamentally necessary for the maintenance of some semblance of order and relationship. Without it we would not care to live in our society. The final bolsterer of moral sanctions would be destroyed and life "in the raw" would be a social fact. No one could long exist in such a social climate; few would really wish for such a state.

Law

While the family organization of society is largely biological at its base, law is a means of organizing society on a basis of repression.

Cohesiveness for society is not merely left to the natural order of things to maintain, but a principle of force is introduced by which order itself is ultimately assured. The fact that society is in need of social restraints indicates that the family is not a sufficient factor in the creation of brotherhood. The fact that the biological foundation to social order is not adequate allows for the existence of systems of legal codes which seek to enforce peace and justice. The existence of law, moreover, indicates that social morality is never founded simply on nature (biology), but has its origin in society itself. The biological sphere is not strong enough to curb the instincts toward divisiveness which it itself provides.

Laws are basically regulative of the interpersonal relations of individuals. They keep us in line. They set up for our consideration the boundaries which must surround our activities in order to make our activities constructive and not largely negative or "criminal." The "criminal" is one who may be inadequately prepared to live within the social strictures which society provides for the guidance of its members. The criminal may be one who disregards the legalistic categories of morality with more or less deliberate intention. Again, the criminal may be one who combines both an involuntaristic and voluntaristic relationship to behavior which is socially defined as "bad."

Undoubtedly laws are such regulators of human activity as to be more than regulative in function. They also may be repressive. Because we natively abhor that which is repressive (having learned of this from Freud), we all are in some measure critical of law. By its very constitution law must be arbitrary. Now, "arbitrary" is not "capricious," but rather: Law by its very nature cannot preconceive the actions of those citizens who may come within its jurisdiction. Law is not prescient. It cannot be made so. It must have an element of blindness which operates in two ways: (1) it maintains for the society at large a definite standard of proper social relationships; (2) it enables law breakers to be given "fair" treatment. The first

point indicates that society is in need of a directive principle that is not only social in character, but universal in scope. The second point indicates that the offender may not count ultimately on his individuality for the explanation or solution of his conduct, but must look to the impartial, social, nonindividual source of social regulation which, while protecting him, also condemns him. The goddess of justice in Grecian mythology, thus, was blindfolded while holding a balance scale.

Law is essentially negative. Its positive implications are many, but they are derived. They are not the immediate aims of justice. "Thou shalt not" may instruct us regarding how minimally we must get along with our neighbor, but it will never enable us to get along with our neighbor on a higher plane of significance, largely because it is intrinsically regulative. It provides only for the minimum standards of social intercourse. It contains no positive, impelling force that calls neighbors into a spontaneous, constructive, highly individual relationship. The family enables individuality greater opportunity than does law. But, there are kinds of law that operate for families which approximate those maintained for society as a whole. The family and social law are interwined in their basal interests and instruments. But, it is the nature of the primary group to provide for greater personal expression on the part of its members. Law represents the interests of secondary groups as well as primary groups, and to the extent to which it does represent the interests of secondary groups it forever fails to give the positive accord to individuals which the family can provide.

Religion

Religion like law is intimately interrelated with the family; it is also related to law. But, unlike the family and law, it seeks at times to accomplish more than either. Indeed, more than both. It seeks to establish such cohesive, creative relationship within and between secondary groups that these will take on the character of primary

groups, even without the necessity of the restraints and repressiveness of law. Thus, in religion there is the pretense of uniting society around the primary group principle of social existence. The family is writ large over the hearts of the inhabitants of all the earth. The means of maintaining social solidarity are largely expressive, although there is room given to legalistic, repressive agencies. The aims of religion in this matter can be seen from two standpoints: (1) human society is like a family; (2) family relationships at best are spontaneous, creative, and constructive.

1. Human society is like a family. The highly organized and world-embracing religions have affirmed the aim of uniting the inhabitants of the entire earth into a common brotherhood or community. Probably this aim is most pointedly seen in Christianity, but it is apparent also in several of the other religions. For example, in Buddhism the ultimate aim of the original ethos of the movement has been to establish a common brotherhood. The small *sangha* is the counterpart of the world-community. The world is seen in this microcosm. In the *sangha* all distinctions of social position or caste are abolished. The assumption underlying this abolition of caste is that individuals born spiritually into the religious community are in reality brothers and sisters, as though they had been born into the same social family.

In Christianity also there is a stress on the family-creating possibilities of religion for the larger society. This fact is evident in part in the theology of the movement. God is a father. Jesus is his son. We are the sons of God. We are brothers with Jesus. The Bible uses various phrases and illustrations to make this point clear: "Now are we the sons of God." "Heirs of Christ." "Not servants, but friends." "Our Father who art in heaven." Etc. Paul and others in the early church also tried to make this aim lucid to their followers. Paul, for example, introduced the family-biological element when he said: "God hath made all nations of one blood." It has been natural for Christians in all ages to speak of each other as "brothers" and "sisters."

2. Family relationships at best are spontaneous, creative, and constructive. The complex, world-embracing religions have usually sought to replace religious laws with religious principles. This is clear from Buddhism. This also is clear in Christianity. The urge of Jesus was to reconstruct the Judaism of his time, replacing a breath of pure principles for every item of ritualistic, legalistic regulation. "Ye have heard it said of old, but I say unto you." Two examples of this practice of Jesus should suffice. One: When he healed a man with a withered hand on the Sabbath day the religious folk rose up against him. He pointed out the moral inadvisability and ignorance of any law which would deny a man healing. The man was more important than the day. In other words: the law can be violated with impunity, nay, it should be violated, if it stands against human values. Second: Adultery in his time, as in ours, was defined legalistically. Certain facts were facts; nothing else counted. Jesus tried to suggest in his teaching and in the illustration of the "Woman Taken in Adultery" story (accepting its value for Christian life, rather than authorship) that adultery was more of an "inward" matter than was (and is) realized. As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he. If a man looked upon a woman with lustful eyes he was already guilty of adultery. In other words: One cannot be too technical about a moral matter like adultery. It is not a matter of regulation of external behavior as it is the intent of the unobserved heart.

This effort of Jesus to place his religion upon what has been called a "spiritual" plane, as against a legalistic one, indicates his belief that religion at its best is not solely regulative of the external conduct of persons, but that religion at its best seeks to guide the inward life of the person. The guidance of the inward life of the individual, however, should not be taken as the sum total of Jesus's religion. His religion was thoroughly tied up with the social issues of his time, but there is no doubting of the fact that he thought that the focus of social morality lay within the psyches of the people and that this focus was quite different from a socially repressive force such as law.

Religion, however, has not always maintained its clarity of in-

sight. Injustices supported by the family are intolerable. But, injustices supported by the weight of law are even worse. And, injustices supported by religion are probably the most evil of all. Thus, when religion creates a "divinely appointed group" its chances of dissolution are probably less than that for any other type of group. The violence and prejudice of which a religious group is capable is almost without limit. Therefore, the aims of religion for uniting the world in a brotherhood of believers can in actuality create the vilest forms of persecution.

But, the final issues of world-wide brotherhood are not in the hands of religionists with cramped visions of brotherhood. They reside in the arms of those who are devoted to the cry of their leader, "that they may be one."

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JUVENILE WELFARE IN RELATION TO HOME AND SCHOOL

James L. Mackay

The citizens of St. Louis contribute liberally of their time and money to provide adequate facilities for the education and recreation of the children and youth of the city. However, there are still some gaps in the program. Can the present forces be so organized that a stronger and more continuous line of defense protects the juvenile population?

Juvenile Welfare Centers in the Home

It is generally accepted that the family remains the basic institution of juvenile welfare. Other institutions as the church, the school, the neighborhood, youth organizations, and industry all affect the welfare of the juvenile population, but *they affect it as much indirectly through their effects upon the home* as they do directly through their specific activities. The thesis of this proposed program is that *all agencies affecting children and youth should recognize their influence upon the home as well as their direct influence upon the individual.*

The pattern of family life and of community life is undergoing constant change. This brings about problems of adjustment which parents are frequently at a loss to understand. Then there are particular individual and social calamities which bring about abrupt changes within a home and cause problems of adjustment with which parents cannot cope without help. If outside institutions exert an influence upon the child without considering the whole problem, they may be complicating rather than simplifying the situation. If the work of these agencies can be coordinated, it will re-enforce the basic agency, usually the home, and help develop better adjusted, better educated, and happier individuals.

There are in St. Louis more than one hundred individuals who

are hired to devote their entire time to juvenile welfare in its broadest sense. These are the officers of the Juvenile Probation Office, the officers of the Divisions of Attendance, Hygiene, and Tests and Measurements of the Public Schools, the social workers of the Childrens Aid Society and of the Catholic and Jewish Child welfare Agencies, the seventeen members of the recently organized Juvenile Division of the Police Department, and the members of the staffs of the Child Guidance Clinics.

As a secondary line of juvenile defense are the hundreds of teachers, police officers, family case workers, municipal and hospital nurses, physicians, preachers, executives of youth organizations, vocational guidance clinics, and personnel men. If these officials were always conscious of their relation to the whole juvenile problem and gave definite thought to their indirect influence upon the child, they could help prevent many maladjustments and assist the officers directly concerned with child welfare to do a more complete job.

The third line of defense is the large group of adult volunteers who devote many hours of time and much money to the study of juvenile problems and the provision of juvenile activities. Among these are the Boy and Girl Scout leaders and committee members, the group leaders of clubs at the various Y's, sponsors of church young peoples' organizations, Big Brothers and Big Sisters, service clubs and veterans organizations, and advisers of Junior Achievement Companies. In addition, there are the committees of the Parent-Teachers Association, the Patrons' Alliance, the Juvenile Commission, the Social Planning Council, the Board of Religious Organizations, the Parks and Playgrounds Association, who devote much time to the study and planning of juvenile activities.

If these three lines of defense could be so mobilized and so strategically placed that their efforts were properly coordinated, the problem of juvenile protection would not only be better met now, but there would be an organization to keep abreast of the times and to meet the new problems as they arise.

The Pre-School Child

Children below school age are very directly the products of the home. Outside influences affect them only indirectly through the activities of the family. Cases of neglect or of improper care may be brought to light by the police, the neighbors, social workers, physicians, or other adults who come into direct contact with the family. It is usually recognized that the basis of trouble with young children is a family problem and the agency called upon for help will usually handle it as such. A strict registration of working mothers and broken homes would help to define the problem and a coordinated plan of day nurseries and nursery schools would help to control the situation.

The Elementary-School Child

The elementary-school child presents quite a different problem. Institutions other than the home are now exerting a direct as well as an indirect influence upon him. He is called upon to make a social adjustment to the group situation of the schoolroom and schoolyard. He is called upon to make an intellectual adjustment to the school work. As he progresses through the eight grades, the outside influences increase in number and intensity. He is affected by the customs of the neighborhood, the homes of his companions, motion pictures, the radio, newspapers, and magazines. His adjustment to these influences is further complicated by his own uneven growth, physical, mental, and emotional.

The problem is still one which should center in the family. In the home, the child should feel his greatest sense of security, his unfailing source of love and affection. If the agencies that seek to assist in his adjustment (the school, the church, the Scouts, etc.) work on the child separately, trying to assist him to make a *particular* adjustment, each competing with the other for his time and loyalty, a disorganization rather than an organization of the child will take place. The child may become conscious of apparently conflicting ideals and values before he has experience enough to interpret them,

before he is capable of making wise decisions. In the midst of this confusion the home loses its influence and the child is without definite and consistent guidance. On the other hand, if the work of these organizations is coordinated and all of it re-enforces the home, the child will have a much better chance of adjusting to his complicated social environment.

The Indian Guide program of the Y.M.C.A. and the Cub program of the Scouts recognize this and make parental participation an essential part of the program. The regular Scout and Senior Scout programs do not require parental participation although there is a growing recognition of the value of troop committees made up of fathers of scouts. On the other hand, some of the so-called high-school fraternities and sororities practically *exclude* parents. The more juvenile organizations work with the home, the less they will compete with each other and the less danger there will be of disintegrating the child's personality.

The Elementary School Is the Most Inclusive Juvenile Agency

The elementary school, the agency which contacts practically all normal children, is the logical agency to detect maladjustments in their early stages. The St. Louis schools have always recognized this function, but it has never been adopted by the Board of Education as a specific policy. In 1906, Mr. Soldan said, "... public schools should not only teach the elements of knowledge, but should become centers and agencies for the social betterment of the masses. In other words, a sociological function is being added to the educational task of the public schools." In 1940, Judge Baron, as president of the Board of Education, said, "It occurs to me that our attendance department has been functioning, more or less, as a police force. . . . My notion of the attendance department is that it should be a part of child guidance; because the mere finding of a child that is staying away from school, without going into the reasons and causes that are keeping that child away from school, is a job only half done."

The school survey of 1916, the survey of children's institutions by the Child Welfare League in 1927, and the school survey of 1939, expressed similar ideas.

The High-School Student

The transition from the elementary school to high school comes at about the same time that pronounced physical and social changes in the life of the child are taking place. Puberty has set in, glands, particularly the sex glands, are assuming a new role in life, the shape of the body is changing from that of a child to that of an adult. Socially the child wishes to be recognized as an adult and too often his conception of adulthood is not the best. Physically he is maturing, but financially he is still dependent and the complexities of the modern world make his judgments inadequate to meet his problems.

The adolescent longs for the security and affection to be found in the home but resents the restrictions of the home. The sense of power that comes with budding adulthood demands more extended experiences. It is normal and natural for young people to wish activities outside of the home but their judgment in the selection and prosecution of these activities is not adequate. The home should now become a *guidance* agency, planning and working with the young people to help them accomplish their ends with the greatest satisfaction and the least damage. The home should be re-enforced by every possible agency. The emancipation of the child from home domination can be a gradual, harmonious process. All agencies should be working together toward this end.

Another disrupting and disturbing influence in the life of the child during this period is his attitude toward school. The growing complexity of industrial processes has forced the young worker out of those activities through which previous generations had earned money, learned to work, and became adjusted to adult life. The law has followed through and has said that if he does not work he must

attend school. High school with its increasingly large numbers, its traditional curriculum, and its stress on abstractions is extremely artificial; it is not a life situation; the pupil finds few intrinsic values in its activities. The law, public opinion, and technological development have forced him into an institution which has not adapted itself to meeting his needs. Intellectually he recognizes the need of further education but emotionally he feels he is getting very little of value for the time spent.

The Senior Scouts, the DeMolay, the Hi-y's, and the corresponding girls organizations are attempting to give youth properly supervised recreational activities. On the other hand, there are many private organizations which exploit youth. Any youth organization that does not include the parents in its program should be looked upon with suspicion. Some organizations do not permit the parents to attend the initiation nor the regular meetings. In many cases, the so-called adult sponsors rarely if ever attend. Likewise, taverns and dance halls exploit these young people.

Perhaps the greatest obstacle to proper supervision of the activities of young people is the moral laxity of the adults. The increasing police supervision of those institutions which tend to exploit young people has helped a great deal. But no amount of police supervision can supplant the active care which should be provided by the home.

The School Could Become the Center of Adolescent Activity

The school continues to be the institution that contacts the greatest number of these young people. Practically all children between the ages of thirteen and sixteen are in school while a majority continue until they are eighteen. If the Board of Education adopted a policy of social welfare and the people supported the policy financially, the schools could become the coordinating agency for all child-welfare activities.

Most parents know what is happening in the adolescent world only through the reports of their own children interpreted in the

light of their own adolescent experiences. Parents, in general, do not know the parents of their children's companions. Children, sometimes purposely, sometimes naïvely, bring home exaggerated reports of braggerts or the highly colored reports from the more lax homes. The parents, in their desire to have their children maintain a desired status, frequently consent to activities of which they do not fully approve. It is much easier to be lax than to spend time and energy and to embarrass the child by investigating. While many parents would not avail themselves of it, the school could act as a center for the coordination of the homes of its pupils. An active guidance system would inaugurate such a plan without too much to-do.

"Teen-Towns" and "teen-age social centers" might very well develop around the school as a center. The parents should be responsible for the development and management of such centers, but it takes some larger institution to bring these parents together. In St. Louis, the schools have furnished the buildings and have furnished some supervision and guidance. In so far as the parents have been brought into the movement, the most fundamental type of guidance can be given. Since the activity is divorced from the home, the movement may prove to be a partially disintegrating activity. The schools can serve as the agency for bringing the parents together if they adopt and develop a policy of social welfare.

High-School Programs Should Be Such that Pupils and Parents Recognize Their Value

If the high schools offered programs which the pupils and parents felt were of intrinsic value, there would not be so much leisure time to dispose of. Pupils come to high school with the purpose of preparing for their vocational life. They find a program which, at least in their minds, has no connection with such preparation. Their ambition then changes to "getting a diploma," for a high-school diploma is a prerequisite for most jobs that are worth while. Parents

feel much the same way. This absence of a common purpose between the school and the home breeds mutual distrust and engenders constant misunderstanding. The child, either consciously or naïvely, plays one against the other and goes his own unguided way.

Getting an education is a full-time job. If the youth is to get some active, outdoors recreation in the afternoon, he will have to study in the evening. If he and his parents feel this is the greatest thing in his life for the time being, there will be little difficulty in developing a study program. No program will work one hundred per cent, but the more it is accepted, the more rapidly it will spread in the youthful population. To bring about such a situation, two conditions are necessary:

1. Parents and teachers must have a mutual understanding and confidence.

2. The program of studies must be such that pupils, parents, and teachers recognize its value.

The School Should Be the Chief Agency for the Detection of Deviates

Even with such an individualized and coordinated program there would always be some who deviated to such an extent that they needed more help than the general program could furnish. In the high school, as in the elementary school, the agencies called upon for assistance should be furnished a basic case study so that immediate action could be taken. The very close coordination of all youth-serving agencies with the home as the center is necessary for the maximum protection of the children of St. Louis.

At the present time the maximum delinquency is occuring in the high-school age group and they should be given maximum consideration both within and without the school.

Conclusion

This review of the relationship between the home and the school has revealed the gaps which exist between the two. It has shown that

the school still operates without primary reference to the basic problems of security and family welfare. It is, therefore, imperative that education not rely on paper-work plans of educational reorganization but rather on an understanding of what youth problems really are.

While the analysis has focused primarily on education, many other social institutions of the community could be analyzed if space permitted. The major criticism of the school could likewise be made of industry and the other social agencies as well. Neither is there intention to be especially critical of St. Louis. A comparable analysis of most any other city would doubtless reveal the same problems.

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NATIONAL TRADITION AND EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP

Lyman B. Graybeal

The American tradition is one of pioneering. Americans have been and are builders of the new, not mere conservers of the old. The typical American is a man of imagination living in a world that is yet to be created. He believes in taking chances and operating on the offensive rather than the defensive. He is at his highest and best when seeking for the new—whether it be pioneering in a wilderness, working in a research laboratory, or creating a new social program. What he is like and what he may do are problems of momentous import to all. He is becoming an increasingly important factor in the future of the world. The American is pre-eminently a man who likes gadgets and new things. He is fond of labor-saving devices though he has to work harder to pay for them. He wants his car, his radio, kitchen, or office to be the latest and best. Much of this spirit can be traced to the influence of the frontier and for three centuries thereafter—wherein were founded brand new communities and homes which could afford the most up-to-the-minute equipment, without having to scrap the old.

The American has expanded his country across a continent by war and purchase but has been a bitter opponent of overseas expansion. He has always been an isolationist in military and political affairs, yet his interests and benefactions extend—as do those of other people—all over the globe. He wants to be free of international entanglements much as he wants to be free to regulate his personal affairs at home.

The old concepts of bigger and better still have strong hold on him He is proud of the size of fruit he grows, of the dams he builds, of the tall skyscrapers, and large railroad stations. He recognizes his own easy-going attitude toward waste in lands, forests, coal mines, and thereby compromises with enormous wastes in governments—

perhaps much graft—feeling that somehow everything will come out all right. Noticeable, however, throughout our history is the fact that we did not have *one* frontier and settle it, but that there have been innumerable frontiers ever advancing—move upon move —to influence the social, economic, technological, and political destinies of our nation and its culture.

Today the world needs the faith, the spirit, and the energy of the American people, again functioning as pioneers. While the old field of action of the pioneer on a material or geographical frontier is gone, the spiritual, political, educational, and economic frontiers remain. Out of the wilderness of international anarchy, we must build a new international order that rests heavily upon a spiritual, cultural, and international amity as well as upon a mechanized and technological civilization.

Today the problems of government are among the biggest and most momentous problems on the intellectual horizon. The causal factors of war are the most important questions confronting the present adolescent generation. For the average college graduate, the traditional policies of the United States in relation to world affairs have been largely that of neutrality, isolation, and nationalism. He has been led to believe that what happens in Europe or Asia is of little concern to us, that the problems of the League of Nations were not our responsibilities, and that our geographical position between the Atlantic and Pacific is largely secure from attack. However, the present tendency to measure distances in terms of *time* as well as miles, and the fact that Calcutta, India, is no longer 12,000 miles, but only 56 hours distant, negates many previous though sacredly held conceptions.

The vote of the Senate in 1920 showed that the majority of senators were in favor of signing the Versailles Treaty and adhering to the Covenant of the League of Nations. But since that majority was not the required two thirds, we turned our backs on our victory in war, refused to seize the opportunity for building a better world,

and thereby lost the peace for which our courageous young men had so valiantly fought. We had the chance, but refused the opportunity, to help build a new and better world on the ruins of the old. Instead, we yearned for the past (which could never return), chose normalcy, and thereby endured a twenty-year period of moral and spiritual doldrums.

Today our souls are stirred by the implications of this withdrawal. The *spiritual* results of this refusal to obey the call of our national tradition and to express our character through public acts have been more disastrous than the *political* consequences. This internal spiritual conflict has made it all the more difficult to talk to youth about the great ideals of education, philosophy, religion, and the superiority of duties over rights. To this conflict may be attributed much of the negativism, radicalism, cynicism, and indifference of the youth of this generation. This feeling of negativism and irresponsibility results in an intellectual and spiritual equivalent of political neutrality. It has caused and is causing us to adopt negative rather than positive solutions to our problems. To meet and solve these problems, we shall need the same pioneering spirit, courage, and wisdom required to win the war. Victory will bring the possibility and opportunity of building a new world and ushering in the beginning of an era better than man has previously known. Great events and opportunities lie before us. We must show that courage, and adopt such policies as will make our pioneer tradition, our love for democracy, and the four freedoms in the Atlantic charter a blessing not merely to ourselves but to all mankind.

This time we must finish the task and make sure, so far as it is humanly possible, that 1960 will not be a repetition of 1914 and 1940. Our victories will be on many shores but, to give long-continued justice to those liberated, the coming generation must envisage clearly and understand thoroughly our foreign relationships. Instruction must avoid intense nationalism and give a fair appraisal of our place in the affairs of the world. Nationalism based on isolationism is today's greatest hindrance to world peace. Events of today

require global internationalism. The conquest of the air compels us to become world-wide citizens. The problems of India and Malay are increasingly becoming our problems.

The role of doubt, hesitation, and timidity which we have played in the past twenty years—the role which denied, ignored, and forgot our pledge to those in "Flanders Field"—the role which is at variance with our national character—must be stopped, reversed, and eradicated. The American people are typically, basically, and wholeheartedly missionaries pioneering in the fields of religion, education, civilization, culture, and social needs. They are ready to make all necessary sacrifices, but they want to know, first, that the orders are coming from sane, sober, sincere, reliable, experienced, and honest leaders and, second, that the emerging world-plan-of-action is more clearly conceived, more adequately planned, and more effectively administered than in World War I. The prayer of the magnanimous spirit is for sincere, honest, and competent critics both within and without his own household.

We have established priorities for everything but first-class political, economic, and social leadership. We have second- and third-string men where first-string men are needed. In times of crises the fans want the best players on the team and not the substitutes. Contempt for amateur leadership in political, economic, educational, and social areas is rampant at a time when respect for public authority is indispensable.

One of the ubiquitous dangers so obvious in the present decade is the political and educational utterances and deliverances of a significant number of "tired old" and "tradition-bound" leaders, who through lack of vision and comprehension of the world-to-be and the social revolution now under way would (figuratively speaking) build another Maginot Line in political, economic, and educational areas where bold, vigorous, clear thinking is the minimum mandate of the hour. This cause the intelligentsia must champion at once. Chancellor Tolley of Syracuse University has so aptly said,

If anything is clear in this bewildering and chaotic world, it is the

unbalance between scientific advance and social control. We have a world of twentieth century technology and stone age international relations; a world of unlimited production and uncontrolled hatred and greed; a world of magnificent intellectual achievement and of catastrophic moral failure; a world of magic and of wonder endangered by ignorance of human relations and the art of government. Thus the instruments designed for freedom have become tools of the new barbarians, and for all the promise of the new day, it may again be written, "where there is no vision the people perish."[1]

It took Hitler's Germany to show to the world the efficacy of education. Through twenty years of indoctrination of youth—in situations consciously controlled and propagandized—led by a hundred or more carefully selected and highly trained technical experts —Germany has shown to the rest of the world the most powerful striking force evidenced throughout history. The national loyalties and ideologies of a people cannot be counterbalanced by mere numbers.

There is a fathomless depth of loyalty in *this* country which our schools, colleges, and universities are in position to plumb—a loyalty to the American traditions, aroused and expressed through our pioneering spirit, which craves a leadership that rises above party lines, personal ambitions, vanity, and vested interests.

The new cultural concepts, technological advances, geographical and social distances have led students of social and political thought to realize that *any society* (state or culture) is best off when each and every member therein has an opportunity to discover and develop his talents, potentialities (personality, etc.) to the highest and fullest extent possible. Contrawise, the integrity of any society, state, or culture is threatened to the extent that these opportunities are denied any group, or individuals in that group.

If education is to cope with the basic problems of the time, it must free itself from the clutches and the strangling hold of tradition. Its spirit must be released from the shackles and confines of the body

[1] William Pearson Tolley, "Education for Tomorrow," *Think* (November 1943).

in which it is incarnate. It must be experimental, progressive, and uncompromising. It must address itself to the task of discovering and promulgating truth even though truth seems opposed to traditional practices or its own vested interests. Such a spirit will serve as a protest against many of the dominant educational tenets and tendencies that tend to reduce education to a quantitative or deterministic science rather than to a qualitative and experimental force.

Among our professional schools today we have medical colleges graduating many students prepared for change in medical treatment and surgery but unprepared for the inevitable impact of socialized medicine. We have schools of architecture graduating students unprepared for the day of mass production of prefabricated houses. We have schools of education graduating potential teachers without either a clearly conceived pragmatic philosophy of education or a comprehension of the most up-to-date methodologies. Our schools of business administration are training students for immediate services—secretarial, accountants, and otherwise—but leaving them ignorant of the political, economic, and social revolution sweeping the world.

Education can no longer be occupied with the task of filling empty receptacles with graded knowledge of various kinds. It must be an active process, dynamic in function, organic in aim, and vitally connected with the entire community. In too many cases, it has looked with smug conservation toward the past on the assumption that stored-up wisdom and preserved culture would adequately satisfy the mind's hunger and the spirit's craving. It has not reached, challenged, or satisfied teachers' intellectual, emotional, and spiritual craving for an effective program of action. Hence, their deep resentment is not unnaturally felt. Teacher-education programs have failed to give direction through space, unity through multiplicity, freedom through discipline, and to promote a synthesis of knowledge and an integration of personality in the rising generation of teachers. The *new* education must be conceived as a means

of meeting a limited number of alternatives through building personalities capable of adapting adequately, reacting dynamically to their customs, beliefs, traditions, institutions, and environment.

The youth of today, both in schools and in service, have a right to ask whether those who will sit at the peace conference are imbued with, will stand for, yea even die for, the spirit of democracy with which they have been and are being indoctrinated in our schools, and for which they have pledged their lives; or whether these representatives will have vested interests that will make of them mere monsters, a mockery to the ideologies for which we die.

Our representatives at the peace table will take what we want them to contribute. If we want isolationism, nationalism, selfishness, material rewards—the seeds of future wars—they will so represent us. If we want a world in which all men may be free and have equal opportunities in the race of life—a world in which the ideals for which we have struggled for three hundred years to attain, be safe for our children and grandchildren—then our representatives will go, not with a militant, but with a missionary spirit of humility, devotion, unity, and service. With such a spirit and also a knowledge that in our bloodstream run the strains of more than sixty nationalities and races, they will recognize that the welfare of the United States is indissolubly linked with the welfare of the rest of the world. They will, at the same time, recognize that out of the turmoil and suffering of war must come visions of a better United States living in a better community of nations and they will also strive to develop a long-range vision of a better America yet to be built—an America strong, just, fair, and helpful in its dealings with all mankind.

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SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS IN EDUCATION

A new feature of THE JOURNAL this year is a monthly article contributed by E. George Payne, Dean Emeritus of the School of Education, New York University, and Editor of THE JOURNAL.

Teachers Wanted!

For a great many years, at least thirty, I have been advocating a new approach to education; something which is necessary if education is to play its vital role in the world. In the first article of this series I attempted to state in principle that function.

My essential contributions to education in the past thirty years have been in all I have done to give reality to this emphasis and point of view. Particular contributions have been to safety education, to health education, to narcotic education, and to cultural education—instruction and understanding in the field of human relations. I have no wish to soften this emphasis or to change my point of view, but I must admit that a firsthand contact with the teacher situation in this country raises serious question in my own mind about the time when we can hope to have education fulfill its fundamental purpose and its vital function.

I would not have the reader think that I have selected the State of Maine, where I now reside, as an example of a deplorable condition. I should say that Maine is much better off than many of our southern States, and is not at the bottom of the list of northern States. Maine has approximately 4,000 teachers. Theoretically, the State requires two years of education beyond a four-year high-school course as basic preparation for teaching. Actually about ten per cent of the staff of experienced teachers in the State are without this basic training. It has been necessary to recruit about two hundred new teachers from among high-school graduates and to give them temporary certificates in order to keep a sufficient number of schools open for the children of the State to attend. We can say then that approximately fifteen per cent of the teaching staff of the State have not any education beyond the high school or less than two years of advanced training.

This is the situation in the elementary schools. The high schools are likewise inadequately staffed. The impossibility of securing teachers in the special fields—music, art, industrial arts, vocational education, etc.—makes it necessary to limit the curriculum emphasis to a small group of subjects, such as English, languages, mathematics, and history. In other

words, the emphasis is upon limited nineteenth-century subject matter of a highly academic sort at a time when the function of education is the preparation of citizens for activities in a world democracy. The job just cannot be done with a staff so limited in education, in background, and in experience. Educational statesmanship is demanded and we have only educational hacks!

This desperate picture is regarded by many of those in authority as not a temporary one. It is believed by some that under the most favorable conditions this situation will continue over a period of ten years. If this judgment is correct, then for ten years the principal function of educators will be to keep the schools open, with little or no hope of performing adequately even the conventional functions of education. There is no hope of educational reconstruction or the adjustment of education to its modern task with a staff so inadequately equipped.

What then is the future of education? Can we educate the leaders and the teaching staff necessary for the important task of education in the postwar world? There seems to be no need to be discouraged. Educators need merely to face bravely the new tasks of education. In the first place, schools of education and teachers colleges need to revise in a fundamental way their programs of instruction and their underlying philosophy. This is necessary before any progress is possible. Furthermore, educators will have to face their relationship to the community with a new program and a new vision. The improvement of education will depend upon the attitude of our citizens. Are people willing to permit and then support a new program essential in the postwar world? Of course it is not the business of communities through their representatives—boards of education—to create such a program and put it into operation except through the educational leadership of the community. The whole future of education, as I see it, hinges upon the kind of leadership that educators can provide. I believe they are not only capable but that they have the disposition to provide this leadership.